

# **WINNIPEG - LONDON MOSCOW**

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**A Study of Bolshevism**

BY

**WALLIS WALTER LEFEAUX**

(Assistant to Defense Counsel, Winnipeg Sedition Conspiracy—General Strike Trials, 1919—1920.)

Mr. Lefeaux visited Europe and Soviet Russia entirely on his own initiative and at his own expense in order to obtain some truthful information upon "Bolshevism."

PRICE 25c

Published by the  
**Canadian Workers Defense League**  
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## A Study of Bolshevism



### INTRODUCTION

The writer is not a journalist, newspaper correspondent, writer of books or even a Labor delegate. It was his privilege to assist somewhat with the defence of those who were tried for seditious conspiracy, convicted, and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment in connection with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

These trials formed possibly the most important State Trials yet held in Canada, and as far as the Labor Movement is concerned, they were undoubtedly so. All but two of the eight defendants were held guilty by juries composed of farmers and small country merchants of—among other things—attempting by unlawful means to establish a Soviet form of Government in the City of Winnipeg.

The evidence in the case very largely consisted of propagandist literature issued by numerous Socialistic bodies in Canada and

the United States, which included a quantity of so-called Bolshevik propaganda, bearing on the situation in Russia and purporting to favor a Soviet form of Social and Economic administration of human society in general.

Over a thousand pamphlets, books, papers, letters, etc., were selected by the counsel for the Crown from among the many thousands of such that were gathered by Government Agents—mostly by the Secret Service Department of the Royal North-West Mounted Police—through raids upon private houses, labor temples and offices all over Canada.

Needless to say, the defendants had never heard of a very considerable number of the documents used as evidence, but the charge being one of conspiracy, the presiding judge ruled that all were admissible even though connected by the merest thread. Out of the mass of material, counsel for the Crown were able to weave a story that appeared dreadful and shocking to the men from the prairie farms, with the result stated above.

The legal aspects of the Russell trial, in their relation to rights of Labor, have been fully dealt with by W. H. Trueman, K.C., of

Winnipeg, in his published opinion, and the details of the trials have been sent out from time to time by the Winnipeg Labor Defense Committee. It is not the purpose of the writer to deal with any of these matters.

Spectres of "Bolshevism" and the "Red Terror" were raised by the Chief Council for the Crown in his addresses to the juries, for the prosecution, backed by odd extracts from anarchists' letters, reported Russian happenings and sentences and paragraphs from any and every erratic exponent of anarchist theory, whose rantings happened to fall into the hands of the Government Agents.

The bogey of conspiracy thus conjured up, combined with the apparition called "Bolshevism," was certainly a success from the point of view of the Chief Counsel for the Crown. It sent the accused to jail.

Even under ordinary circumstances it is extremely difficult to offset the impression created in the minds of juries by inferences and innuendos. The grim spectre of "Bolshevism" and the gruesome cult of "the red" were effectively impressed upon the minds of the jurymen by Crown Counsel.

How much, if any, of this was permissible to prosecuting counsel, presumably acting for the public and, according to legal ethics, pledged to bring out and present the truth only, is not the writer's present intention to discuss.

Was the Winnipeg General Strike a conspiracy? Was it a conspiracy to institute a Soviet form of administration for Canada? Were the strikers endeavoring to bring about conditions such as were reported to exist in Russia? Were they trying to establish "Bolshevism"? What is "Bolshevism"? What are Russian conditions? Chief Counsel for the Crown, addressing the jury in the second trial, made the following statement: ". . . . these men (defendants) pounded into the minds of the workers: 'We want things here as they are in Russia, and want the conditions as they are in Russia'; that is what it would mean to be under the dictatorship of the Proletariat". . . . "The Crown says this (spreading news re Russian Revolution) was part of a plan to bring about a situation here, the same as the situation in Russia and to bring it about by the means that the Russian Soviet Government was brought about in Russia,

namely by the general strikes and threats of general strikes." \*

The first four of these questions the writer must leave to his readers who must be supposed to have at least a slight knowledge of the history of the development of trades unionism. The implications and assertions of the prosecution in Winnipeg aroused a desire in the writer to obtain some light upon the last two questions. There was no evidence whatever to warrant any such implications. Had there been any such evidence—was the picture justified? The writer decided to find out, if possible. Hence his visit to Russia.

W. W. LEFEAUX.

London, England,  
December 23rd, 1920.

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\* The Russian Soviet Government was not brought about by general strikes and threats of general strikes. However, that is only one of the many little inaccuracies placed before the juries. Perhaps one should not blame but rather pity Chief Crown Counsel for his childlike faith in his morning newspaper. His ignorance does not appear to be much more dense than that of the average man. The writer does not doubt for one moment that he meant well and that he was acting under the impression that he was the main instrument in saving society from a dreadful catastrophe. His name and reputation will undoubtedly go down in history with another whose chief recommendation to history was, if I remember correctly, an encounter with a windmill.

## CHAPTER I.

### IN LONDON

The unanimous decision of the Appeal Court of Manitoba against the Appellant in the case of The King v. Russell, left no further constitutional action other than an appeal to the Privy Council in London. The statement by the Chief Justice of Manitoba to the effect that the Communist Manifesto, written by Karl Marx over 70 years ago, when circulated as such by Socialists of Canada in 1919, constituted treason, made it plainly evident that any further appeal to that court would be a sheer waste of effort.

The case was taken to London by Mr. Trueman, at request of the Defense Committee, and after several weeks' delay, was placed by him before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the shape of a Petition for Leave to Appeal. Their decision was very quickly given to the effect that they could see no sufficient reason to interfere with the Criminal Courts of Canada in this particular case; that there had been a trial by jury and that there was a Court of Criminal Appeal in Manitoba that had confirmed the conviction.

A somewhat humorous illustration of class privilege was unconsciously portrayed for the onlooker by the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Birkenhead, during the hearing of the Petition. Mr. Trueman was reading that portion of the evidence for the Crown where defendant Russell is reported to have said in the course of a speech that the Soviet form of Government was what was wanted in Canada. Here Lord Birkenhead interjected a remark to the effect that that sounded somewhat seditious to him. This remark coming from the man who only a short time before, while still Sir F. E. Smith, had been Carson's first lieutenant in the rebel army of Ulster and had openly supported armed resistance to the Crown in Ireland, was not without significance for those who listen and learn.

My mind is not yet quite clear as to the exact meaning of Lord Haldane's remark that no matter what the facts in the case were the cause did not appear to him to show "a sufficiently gross breach of natural justice" to warrant granting Leave to Appeal.

It was quite evident that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council did not wish to interfere with the Criminal Courts

of a "self-governing" Dominion. I think it was Lord Cave who remarked that had the case originated in India or any other dependency he would have felt inclined to investigate a little closer.

Sir John Simon and several other Counsel appeared for the Canadian Government.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE LURE OF RUSSIA

The Russian Revolution of November, 1917, shook Capitalist society as no other phenomenon has ever done; it raised the hopes of the class-conscious workers; it compelled the attention of all social reformers; it drew the bitterest hatred from the Bourgeoisie of the whole world. Never since the days of the Paris Commune, when French and Germans suspended the Franco-German War to subdue the revolting Communards of Paris, has there been such a general and unanimous condemnation of any movement. As in 1871 so in 1917, the rebellious workers were portrayed to be a bloodthirsty and hideous blot upon an otherwise Christian civilization, and, accordingly, to be outlawed and shot on sight. But this time the outlaws seem to be quite

successful in defying a world in arms, and the wireless towers of Moscow every night flash out a message to the masses of the outside world, not every word of which can be jammed.

Somehow some have learned to be a little bit sceptical of the news conveyed by the average newspaper and even "official" despatches seem to have lost some of the charm by which they once moulded the mind of the public. The writer long since became infected with this skepticism and even at times suspected the purity of motive and integrity of some of the news agencies.

The blockade of Soviet Russia begun by Germany and continued by the Allies, was and is a most interesting phase of the matter. When it was referred to as a "cordon sanitaire" against a propaganda stated to be highly infectious and very undesirable to society, the matter immediately assumed another aspect. What new disease was this for which Nature's cures of light and air were decreed to be unwise?

The use made by the leading Counsel for the Crown of the popular conception of Bolshevism proved too strong an impetus to investigate the question at its source and thither the writer wended his steps.

There are two main ways of entering Russia. One can enter publicly heralded and shepherded, or one can enter by underground routes. The first has many drawbacks plainly apparent and the latter has many drawbacks plainly uncomfortable.

The writer used neither method and was quite successful in both entering and leaving the country, and in wandering around while there, gathering information unhampered by official guides and schedule makers, at the same time he succeeded in avoiding many of the discomforts that are often encountered in a trip to that country which is more than ever a land of mystery.

It is not necessary or advisable to give details of the manner in which the journey was made, but perhaps a hint to the effect that getting out requires as much planning as getting in, may not be out of place here, should any reader have it in mind to make the trip. The blockade is still on and any unwary individual showing symptoms of Bolshevik contamination is the subject of more than superficial interest to all Orthodox Governments. Any other than an officially invited visitor who succeeds in getting in, faces a proletariat in a state of war, a proletariat that has every reason to mis-

trust visitors, a number of whom are still there at date of writing, the unwilling guests of red hosts.

### CHAPTER III. FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

"Tavarish!\* Tavarish!! Come eat!" We just crossed the frontier into the land of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and this particular "Tavarish" was too intently interested in the many signs of unusual happenings to think of eating at that moment. We had dropped the long string of cars of which our train had been composed and with a locomotive fresh from the Petrograd shops and a train of four cars, we were covering the country at about a forty-mile per hour gait, over a roadbed that gave no evidence of low centres or high joints, and might have been part of any first-class road in America or Europe.

But the side of the track betokened that we were not in America. Shell holes, twisted rails in heaps, broken trees, heaps of brick and stone (one-time houses), trenches and barbed wire fences, bore evidence of

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\* Comrade.

desperate fighting at no very distant date. We were passing the scene of the last stand of Yudenitch, who, just one year previous, after a triumphant advance on Petrograd, was met by the entire population of the city in arms when but a few hundred yards from his goal, a red fury that gave his army no rest or quarter until they were over the Narova River.

Everything destroyable had been destroyed by the retreating counter-revolutionary general and the tracks and bridges blown up for miles.

On one side of the track were the fallen telegraph and telephone wires and poles cut and destroyed beyond repair. On the other side was a new set of wires and posts, in perfect condition, built by members of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic for the use and benefit of the community.

One high bridge, several hundred feet in length, was pointed out to me with special pride by my volunteer guides, who informed me that it was rebuilt in thirty days by volunteer laborers who had gathered in thousands from all the surrounding country to assist in replacing the former bridge that now lay a mass of crumpled masonry and

twisted steel—a mute token of the counter-revolutionary patriotism that would “save Russia from destruction.”

One of the most noticeable features of the whole Russian situation is the genuine tone of pride and satisfaction with which visitors are shown **our** railroads, **our** factories; everything is **ours**.

A stop of several hours at a divisional point, owing to a lost connection, afforded an opportunity to inspect a typical Russian wayside railway village and station. All have a perpetual supply of hot water to make the indispensable tea and the station premises are turned into Communist educational centres; at this particular one we found an old soldier with a wooden leg accompanying a crippled boy who was playing selections from well-known classical Russian and German composers on his violin, and a library with a girl in charge, from which a continual streams of callers was borrowing books and papers. Strolling along the platform musing upon the strange mixture of the old and the new, my attention was suddenly arrested by a chorus of voices singing “The International,” the song of the Revolutionary Socialists all over the world. For a few moments I could not make

out where it came from, but I soon espied a gang (I should say a company) of railroad section workers—about forty strong—marching down the right-of-way in fours with their shovels and picks on their shoulders, singing the revolutionary strain with a satisfaction that comes only from something achieved—something done. If Capitalism ever returns to Russia, Capitalism will be kept very busy recapitalizing the workers of Russia. Hundreds of cars of wood were being shipped weekly from this line to Petrograd and Moscow to take the place of the coal and oil supply interrupted by the Christian armies of the Allies. All locomotives were burning wood—one of the very many difficulties of the transportation service.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PETROGRAD

I awoke upon my first morning in Soviet Russia to find our car at a platform in the Nicholaevsky Station, Petrograd, and a rumbling of baggage trucks and hurrying feet that sounded suspiciously like the noises generally associated with a terminal station of a great railroad. Hurriedly dressing to see what a Soviet railroad sta-

tion looked like, I found that one had to dodge trucks and show passes very much as one would have to do at a Capitalist station. Outside were the familiar (by picture) one-horse Russian isvoschiks (cabs), the Nevsky Prospekt was alive with thousands passing along to work and electric street cars were making the same din and noise as electric street cars in any other city in the world.

Petrograd has an especial interest for me on account of its having ever been in the forefront of the Russian Revolutionary Movement. Peopled mainly by workers in the manufacturing, railroad and shipping industries, it easily developed a class-conscious proletariat that, backed by the naval men of Cronstadt, close by, inevitably became the backbone of the revolution and made a place for itself in the history of the world's workers.

The streets were clean and nobody seemed to be afraid of being shot; I could not even see a dead horse on the streets of the city—I saw quite a number of fairly well fed ones. To one direct from Bond Street or Fifth Avenue, the shops and stores have an appearance that is, at first, disconcerting. Boarded and empty windows on both sides

of otherwise busy streets, strikes a chill note of the unknown, until one begins to grasp the significance and meaning of it all. Today, there are practically no private shops in Petrograd. There are no privately owned motor cars in the large cities of Russia, all have been requisitioned for the service of the administration.

The organization of the Petrograd District is entirely in the hands of the Trades Unions, functioning through the Petrograd Soviet, and, considering the general conditions of the country, a really marvellous work has already been done. The streets are well lighted and perfectly safe at all hours of the day and night; there is an excellent street car service that is entirely free. The abolition of fares on the cars has resulted in a present overcrowding of cars, but it is generally conceded that this will decrease as soon as the novelty has worn off. As it is, long strings of people await their turn in single file queues, and without policemen, soldiers or traffic controllers, fill the hundreds of cars that serve the rush hour traffic. The only reply to the question of how it is done elicits the remark "**The cars are ours. We must all take our turn.**" Something is working at mass education in Petrograd, and is succeeding.

Standing at the centre of the broad Dwartzovy Most (Bridge of the Palace) and looking upstream over the river Neva, one cannot help reflect, if only for a passing moment, on the scenes but recently enacted within sight (and sound); scenes which even now are historical with a portentous significance. On the right stands the famous Winter Palace, the scene of the siege of November, 1917, so well described by John Reed, in his book "Ten Days That Shook the World." A few rifle bullet holes in the front walls are all the outside signs of the struggle. The Cadets, the Women's Battalion, the tank firing into the crowd of women and children and from which a number of persons, including a man in a British officer's uniform, were fished out on the points of the Kronstadt Sailor's Bayonets, are all sinking into the dim past, so rapidly do historical events follow one another in these days.

But the broad and deep Neva is dead. The longshoreman is a man of the past and nothing moves today but one or two tugs towing scows loaded with wood, a part of the preparation for the Russian winter. A few steamers lie tied up to the wharves, some of them loaded, so I was told, with flax and other exportable commodities. Con-

sidering the seven years of war and general conditions in Russia, I rather doubt that any considerable quantity of materials is available at any of the ports of Russia. Outside in the Baltic Sea, out of reach of the Workers' Soviet Republic's Kronstadt guns, the battle ships of Christendom keep watch and ward lest supplies of food should reach the women and children of the hated Bolsheviks. Possibly keeping clothing from the bodies of millions may tend to make them dissatisfied. Perhaps the denying of medicines and medical supplies to an under-fed and poorly clad industrial population may tend to encourage cholera, typhoid fever and other plagues. Without doubt Millerand, Lloyd George & Company and the peoples of the British Empire, Germany and France are to be congratulated upon the success of their blockade. There is quite a lot of sickness and deprivation in Russia. Methinks some day will come a reckoning; the grounds for an indictment of many counts are now being prepared.

Vasilovsky Island, once the residential district of Petrograd's nobility and bourgeoisie, with its palatial homes and palaces, deserted by the owners at the time of the Revolution, has been taken over en bloc by the Petrograd Soviet and is now a colony.

of rest homes for the workers of the Petrograd District. At the time of writing some six thousand workers were enjoying there, their two weeks' annual rest. Club rooms, theatres and libraries are here installed and no one visiting them can fail to notice the way in which they are appreciated. The furniture and furnishings are being well kept and cared for. Every home that I visited was perfectly clean and tidy.

It may be strange, but it is certainly true, that all the public places I have visited in Russia bear witness to the fact that the Russian people do not and have not destroyed their own inheritance. Museums, Art Galleries, Churches, Palaces, and all other public places are kept scrupulously clean and the crowds of visitors are more orderly than any I have encountered elsewhere.

After the taking of the Winter Palace by the Communists in November, 1917, crowds surged through the Palace and but a very few individuals showed any desire to wreck things. Speedy means were found of dealing with the offenders. Three or four of the pictures were damaged, one only was absolutely destroyed, a picture of the mother of the late Czarina. The only other noticeable damage was done to the Czar-

ina's mattress—the morrocco leather cover had been ripped off apparently with a blunt knife. "There is a great need of leather for the people's shoes."

Thanks to the generous manner in which the Germans, British and French supplied Petlura, Krasnov, Koltchak, Denekin, Yu-denitch, Wrangel, the Poles, the Archangel Expeditionary Force, and a few other for-lorn hopes of reactionism with guns and general warlike supplies (captured by the Bolsheviks in enormous quantities) the great Putiloff Ironworks are now able to turn part of their attention from swords to ploughshares. Some six thousand men are now working night and day in an effort to supply part of the sorely needed farm machinery for Russia, but transportation conditions are a heavy handicap.

Taking into consideration the fact that Petrograd has been combed ten times for men for military service, and that practically all the psysically fit Communists are serving at the front, the organization and discipline of the city is truly marvellous. No doubt but that some day, after they have departed, someone will write the history of Zinovieff and his comrades in the Petrograd Soviet; today so many apparently insur-

mountable difficulties are being overcome by men of the same type all over Russia, that special mention and record is impossible. It is quite unsought.

Petrograd is a city of mixed nationalities and is better organized than Moscow. The population has dropped to about 800,000, owing partly to the elimination of a non-productive element which is not altogether a loss to the community, partly to the withdrawal of a large number of the best men for the army.

Newspaper is scarce in Russia. Copies of papers are posted up daily on all the principal streets of the cities and villages, and there is a big demand for the comparatively few that are offered for sale. Passing along a street one day, in the vicinity of the Hotel de l'Europe (formerly the best hotel in Petrograd and now a children's collecting and observation home) I observed a single file queue of about thirty people buying newspapers from a woman who had a small supply. Bolshevik Russia is the only place in the world where I have ever seen people form a queue to obtain a coveted edition of a paper.

An Englishman (Clare\*), Professor of Languages at Petrograd University, suggested to the Municipal Service Department

of the Petrograd Soviet that every house should be compelled to instal an electric light over the street number plate. The suggestion was adopted. I saw no houses without it. Maybe London and New York will some day follow the example of Petrograd.

## CHAPTER V.

### MOSCOW

There is a good service of trains between Petrograd and Moscow, both oil and wood burning locomotives are in use now and successful experiments with electric trains have been made. Leaving Petrograd at night we found ourselves in Moscow in the morning.

The population of Moscow is typically Russian and has increased to about two million. The Russian is not, by nature, a lover of intense and orderly work; the best part of the brains of Moscow are in the National Service, Moscow being the headquarters of the Army General Staff and the National Administration; the energetic and

\* Professor Clare has since been called to Moscow to take charge of one of the National Education Departments. After ten years in Russia which included the various revolutions and three years under the Bolsheviks, he told me that he was quite satisfied to remain in the service of the Soviet Administration.

fit Communists are serving in the army. Hence Moscow as Moscow is. And I cannot yet understand how Moscow is as good as Moscow is.

As with Petrograd, so with Moscow, the closed shops and stores have a somewhat depressing effect at first glance, but one's attention is soon diverted to the large number of people and soldiers moving about.

Nobody in either Petrograd or Moscow appears to be actually starving although all are short of many things generally considered necessary. The people of Moscow are noticeably poorer clad than those of Petrograd, and the strain of the situation is reflected to a certain degree on the faces of the people in the street, but perfect order is there, too, and only an occasional soldier on police duty is encountered on the street engaged either in directing traffic or in leaning against a wall smoking a cigarette.

Here we have the Cabinet (19 Commissioners) the Supreme Economic Council, War Office, Foreign Office, National Executive of Soviets, Third International, International Trades Union Executive, congresses always in session, the headquarters of a nation in the seventh year of war and the third year of social and economic revolu-

tion, and the international headquarters of the Communist Movement, the mainspring of a host of revolving wheels, a regular hive of collecting and distributing expeditionary movements.

Moscow is one of the big mobilizing centres for the army with thousands of men pouring in and being shipped out every day for the various fronts. They wander in in sheeplike droves with their ragged clothing and oftentimes without shoes or with shoes made out of some kind of reed grass or sack-ing—they entrain out for the front fully equipped with new shoes, new uniforms and heavy great coats down to the tops of their boots, singing their Russian marching songs, absolutely unrecognizable as the raw material of a few weeks previous. Should any one say that the Red Armies are a ragged mob, believe them not.

Some people still there are who cross themselves reverently as they pass the sacred images and churches; numbers pass inside the churches to worship and nobody forbids or interferes in any way. At one of the entrances to what is known as Chinatown there is a sacred chapel before which people are continually bowing and offering up prayers with an incidental offering to

the priest in charge. On the wall of a large Municipal building not fifty feet from the chapel, so placed that nobody can avoid seeing it, is inscribed in Russian characters "Religion is the opium of the people." That seems to be the Bolshevik way.

The street car service is poor, most of the cars seem to have been requisitioned for the purpose of distributing wood, for winter use, of which there are immense stacks all over Moscow, although at time of writing, the supply is not yet complete. Long strings of carts are still hauling it in to the city and train loads arriving daily. The fuel position is already much better than last year and hundreds of millions of gallons of oil from the Baku region have already been distributed by boat to points on the Volga of which Moscow has its share, although the major portion, as with everything else, is being devoted to the industry of war.

The city is well lighted and perfectly safe. I have wandered night after night until well after midnight in all sorts of streets in Moscow and have never seen the peace disturbed by even a drunken man. Girl stenographers walk home alone at midnight and in the early hours of the morning

from the Government departments and laugh at the idea of anyone accompanying them. The worst thing I have seen on the streets of Moscow was one dead horse. Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed) and several other English and American women in Moscow rather enjoyed walking about the streets at midnight.

There are still a few beggars in the streets and at the doors of the churches, but none of them are able-bodied, a very different matter from the thousands that used to meet travellers on the streets before the reds gained control. Old people have a food ration which, as all food rations in Russia, could stand a very considerable enlargement, and some of them add a trifle to it from the hands of the peasant or visiting traveller. The old peoples' homes will not accommodate all of them yet although the matter is being dealt with as speedily as possible. Even were accommodation sufficient there are no doubt those who would prefer the life and bustle of the streets.

One of the most impressive sights that I saw in Moscow was a parade of about three thousand young officers, all between the ages of 17 and 35, in the Red Square. Trotsky reviewed them from a stand erect-

ed in front of the Main Gate of the Kremlin. One of the Czar's old generals was in command of the parade and led the march past the saluting base. If the spirit and discipline shown by these officers is any criterion of the esprit de corps of the two or three odd millions now under arms in the red armies of Russia, I have an idea that Wrangel\* and the Poles and any other counter-revolutionary or bandit armies had better get home while the road is still clear.

I was accompanied by Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed) and several delegates to the Third International, at that time still in Moscow. John Reed was not feeling very well and decided to stay in the hotel. The huge Kremlin wall, at the base of which is a plain mound of earth fenced in, marking the common grave of the Communists\* who lost their lives in Moscow during the fighting that took place in November, 1917, formed a fitting background for such a scene. Three massed bands played "The International," "The Red Flag," and the "Old Comrades March," the latter sometimes known as "Trotsky's March."

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\* This was written before Wrangel was routed by the Soviet Army.

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\* John Reed's body now lies by the side of the bodies of his comrades.

All wore new equipment from greatcoats to boots. Marching past in line of companies with their company commanders, markers and buglers, they presented a never to be forgotten spectacle. Sentries sprang to attention and heads flashed right as commanders gave the order, "eyes right," and came to the salute themselves as they passed the Red Flag and the People's Commissar of the Army of the Peasants' and Workers' Republic.

I have not been able to secure a translation of Trotsky's speech, but parts were translated to us afterwards. My informant stated that it was mostly taken up with an account of the reverses and the serious position on the Polish front, that French warships were off Odessa and that they might have to evacuate that city to Wrangle and the French at any time. Considering that all on parade were bound for the Polish front, Trotsky could not readily be accused of presenting the state of affairs to them in a too optimistic manner.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A TYPICAL DAY IN MOSCOW

(From my Diary)

I am sitting in my room at the Savoy Hotel, in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic—the famous city of Moscow.

It is a bright morning in early October, but the ominous signs of approaching winter are in the air and I must close that window and blow my fingers or my hand will lose its cunning and nothing will be written.

This hotel is occupied principally by employees of the Foreign Office, including Nourteva, the Trade Commissioner who visited Canada and was afterwards summarily deported from London on the plea that his passport was not in order.

Our rooms are not sumptuous. Only bare necessities have been left, for Russian needs demand that everything useful be used and I must perforce at night augment my single blanket with my overcoat.

Breakfast has just been served. We have a very distant relation to coffee as the beverage and about half a pound of a rye bread with a desertspoonful of sugar and about the same amount of butter. We get no more

butter or sugar today; it is our day's allowance. I am assured that things have improved here wonderfully since last year. An amazing people are these Russians!

Last night I went to hear the Russian Opera, Prince Igor, at the Moscow Theatre, and for three hours, with few lapses, I managed to occupy my mind with other than economic questions. Not being a musical authority, I have no intention of attempting to describe the performance—that can well be left to others—to me the music, acting, singing and dancing were wonderful. I have witnessed operas in London, Paris, New York, and Canada, but I never witnessed anything like that before. By the way, there are a score or so of theatres running in Moscow every night and they are run by the actors themselves under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

My fingers are too cold to write any more and, besides, I am to be taken by a member of the Railroadmen's Union to see the repair and engine shops, and I must not keep him waiting, for Russia is at war and needs him.

1 p.m. My guide arrived punctually—the only punctual man I have so far met in Russia. Maybe that being a railroader and having received his early training in Eng-

land, he has the habit. We visited the railroad and car repair shops of the city. The heads of departments are certainly very intelligent and capable. But what handicaps!

Am a trifle hungry, but there is nothing due to eat until 4 o'clock, so I smoke a couple of Russian cigarettes, and for an hour or two I shall not want to eat anything. I will go around to Yurotski, of the International Trades (Industrial) Union Bureau, and see if he has any suggestion for a short expedition, but first, I must change my shoes for these cobbled streets do make one's feet ache. Perhaps, if, like a large number here, I had no shoes or wore plaited reeds or sackling, I might feel differently—no doubt, I should!

Later. Yurotski had left word that he would return in a few minutes—at least that was what I understood after putting together the dozen English words that the stenographer knew and the half dozen Russian words that I have acquired. After waiting an hour he returned like a dust storm. There was nothing further to be done this week; but on Monday!

John Reed is sick in bed with a mild attack of the Flu (?)\* so I decided to sit at his

\* This proved to be typhus, from which Jack died three weeks later.

feet for an hour and get some more of his extensive information and hairbreadth adventures. While there, Bela Kun, late Soviet Administrator of Hungary, Freeman, of Australian fame, and various other notabilities in the Communist ranks, walked in. All are now just "Tavarish" and not quite so much in general demand as the Tavarish who waits upon us at table.

At 4 p.m., promptly, I returned to my hotel and consumed my share of vermicelli soup, Roshar (millet) meal and tea. The millet is not very palatable. Milk is reserved for children and invalids only.

Returned to the Dolovey Dvor, where most of the remaining international delegates are quartered, and spent several hours discussing matters with delegates from all quarters of the globe. Returned to the Savoy Hotel for supper at 10 p.m. Menu consisted of a couple of small pickled fish, bread and tea.

Having a matter to take up with Nourteva at the Foreign Office, I betook myself there at 11 p.m., between that hour and 4 a.m. being the best time to catch him.

Louise Bryant was there making up her report of an interview with Lenin and her despatches for America via the radio and

Berlin. Together we translated a communiqué in French, received from the Polish front by the wireless.

Left Foreign Office about 2 a.m. Louise Bryant laughed at my suggestion of accompanying her to the Dolovoy Dvor, but consented to my going when I insisted that I would really like the walk in the moonlight. The wall of Chinatown, the churches and the silence made a weird combination. We met a few stragglers, but nobody took any notice of us. Returned to hotel about 3 a.m.

## CHAPTER VII. ECONOMIC SITUATION

On the surface the economic situation in Russia is not good. Considering the circumstances the economic situation is marvellously good, in fact, it is so good that I cannot understand it. The industrial centers are all getting bread and there is a supply—admittedly very small—of meat, butter, eggs, tea, sugar, fruit, etc. The peasants are, of course, generally speaking, in a better position as regards supplies of food.

The industrial centers are all, practically speaking, working for the army. Trotsky

has charge of the railways as well as of the army, and the railways and the army are functioning fairly well—Trotsky sees to that. It needs little imagination to picture how little attention is, or can be, given to the needs of the civilian and agricultural population when necessity has placed a war machine in charge of the country.

I, along with millions of others, in Moscow, Petrograd and elsewhere, ate bread and drank tea—sometimes with butter and sugar; but generally without. In the shape of a food tax, food levy, voluntary contributions, purchase by paper money and products of Communal State farms, the supplies are coming in. Quite often from far-off villages of Siberia or of the Ukraine there is sent a delegate to see what becomes of the village's contribution. Invariably the result of the visit of inspection is to bring in more supplies. Can I prove this? Only by the words of those in charge and the admission of disgruntled Mensheviks and numbers of other sufferers to the effect that matters in the food and fuel line are not so bad as they have been hitherto, and the sight of stocks on hand.

East of Suez the Ten Commandments, according to Kipling, are not in effect. East

of the Baltic, in a country in the transition stage from Capitalism to Socialism the Marxian law of exchange value is suffering so much from the vagaries of an abnormal condition of supply, demand, confidence and want of confidence, that one may safely place it in much the same category.

The Russian standard of value and medium of exchange, since the beginning of the century, has been the gold rouble, a coin of practically the same weight and quality as half a dollar in American currency, the ten rouble Russian gold coin being generally considered the equivalent of a five dollar American gold coin.

As with all the countries that took part in the European War, so with Russia, the gold basis of money immediately became a theory only and the paper currency developed the same disease as does whiskey by continuous addition of water. Gold immediately disappeared from circulation and very soon silver followed it, for the weight of silver in the silver rouble coin was of greater exchange value in the market than the paper currency rouble. When, in the open market, the amount of silver in a silver rouble became worth more than a rouble (paper) then the market got the

silver, even copper coins went the same way.

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, the exchange value of the rouble, as expressed in the cost of living (and also in foreign exchange) was only a small part of its theoretical (gold) value. The advent of the Proletarian dictatorship, and the openly published intention of the Communists to do away with money, gave the paper rouble a fresh start on its downward career. Whereas the normal gold rouble should be worth about nine (9) to the English pound sterling, the market (illegal) at Moscow is now paying ten thousand to the pound. The American dollar, on a gold basis, worth about two roubles, is now selling for three thousand.

This financial situation is in no wise disconcerting to the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Considering the matter from a capitalistic viewpoint, it is a disaster. From a Communistic point of view it is not necessarily a bad development. In fact, I have often heard it stated that it was the Soviet Government's intention to do away with money by the route of depreciation. This is very probably the case. If so, their course, and the inevitable result of a Government print-

ing paper money to finance itself, are strictly in accord.

Although the Marxian theory of social economy is only concerned with the two classes—capitalist and producers—we find, in our undeveloped state a mass of the middle and professional class that it should be possible to ignore, but they make so much noise and provide the nucleus for so many counter-revolutionary movements that they compel some attention.

The Capitalist in Russia seems to have been quite effectually disposed of. Requisitioning and confiscation, either in the form of the workers' Government taking over the means of life, or in the form of requisitioning for war purposes, has deprived the element of its hold. Thousands fled across the borders with all their portable wealth, the remainder have either accepted service with the Soviet administration or are still existing upon what they may have saved out of the wreck. The latter are not at all numerous now.

The unenviable position of the small traders, manufacturers, professional men and their families can well be imagined. Accustomed to a fairly good standard of living and comfort, the catastrophic collapse of the value of money and their absolute in-

ability to rectify their position by increasing their incomes to meet the situation has caused undoubted sufferings. However, as their tale has been told by Mrs. Snowden and numberless other reliable and unreliable witnesses, I will pass on to more important matters. One of the hopeful features of the Russian situation is that these people have nearly all been forced by circumstances into the ranks of the Proletariat, and, although some of them engaged as specialists, receive a little more provision than the rank and file of the workers, it is plainly evident to them that nothing short of an improvement of economic conditions for the whole of Soviet Russia will be of any particular benefit to them. Hence we find them getting into the harness, at first very unwilling pullers, but gradually getting the idea.

The peasants of Russia form a very important question to the Soviet scheme, and as they constitute the vast majority of the population, they have to be handled very carefully. I say "handled" advisedly, for I do not think that anyone pretends that Soviet Russia is the product of the peasants' minds. The peasants supported the Revolution in order to get the land. Apart from that fact it would take several vol-

umes to deal with the various social and geographical sections of the peasants of Russia. My observations must be limited to a few generalities gathered from various sources.

It is not very hard to conceive that a peasant having produced wheat and agricultural products has a number of wants to be supplied by industrial processes. Receiving paper money that will not buy anything, gets somewhat monotonous. The peasants' Soviets estimate their requirements in industrial products, which estimates are passed along to the district Soviets and by them relayed to the Central Council, but not one quarter of the requirements can be provided. The best of the workers from the industrial plants are at the various fronts and the majority of the others are employed almost exclusively on stores and equipment for the millions under arms. When one considers that the children's establishments are not receiving twenty per cent of their requirements of manufactured articles one can get some idea of the economic strain under which the country is living.

The Russian peasant is by no means a Communist, but great efforts are being made to educate them to the advantages of combined work in production. Large

communal farms are being put in operation as speedily as possible, but owing to lack of machinery and inability of the central administration to provide any approximate amount of the people's requirements, not to mention comforts, it is well nigh impossible to demonstrate the advantages of any system.

The Communist ideal of abolishing the wage system and supplanting it by providing all the requirements of life from the common stock gratis, is still in its infancy, and in a very crude stage, but here again the wonder of it is that they have been able to accomplish as much as they have done under the circumstances.

Workers receive a money wage each month and a supply of necessities, which latter is known as the "pyock," and is the more important of the two. To workers and soldiers under military control this pyock is distributed without charge and in other cases the charge is only a nominal one. Distributions are made through the Soviet stores by card. Whenever any extra supplies are available through the Soviet stores they are placed on sale at a nominal price to the workers.\*

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\* Money is being eliminated in all spheres as rapidly as practicable.

Owing to the necessity of speeding up production, the system of piecework has been reintroduced in most of the factories and all work over a certain minimum is paid for by an increase in the pyock. This pyock, over and above 2 lbs. of bread per day per individual, is a very elastic and unknown quantity and consists of flour, salt, meat, apples, potatoes or anything that may be available for distribution. Every worker receives each day one fairly good meal on the job.

The money payment varies from three to twenty thousand roubles per month, but its purchasing power over and above what the pyock calls for is almost a negligible quantity, except in the Soviet stores. In the open speculative market in Moscow, one pays 250 roubles for an apple, flour is 700 roubles, per lb., shoes from 30,000 to 100,000 roubles per pair, sugar and soap, 1,500 roubles per lb., potatoes 200 roubles per lb., and everything else is at a relative figure. As stated before, whether by design or by the natural course of economic conditions, money is assuming an insignificant position as compared with the pyock or portion of necessities distributed to the workers, and the intention is to discontinue the money portion as soon as possible.

Rents have been abolished and all buildings declared the property of the State.

A decree has been issued abolishing all railway fares as from January 1st, 1921.

The free street car is the symbol and herald of an economically free Russia.

The Russian worker is not efficient in the American sense of the word and, apart from the real Communists, does not show any great love and zeal for work. If we add to this the fact that seven years of war are rather a gruelling test of faith, even to the faithful, we may get some idea of what Russia is passing through. With our Anglo-Saxon psychology it is rather hard to grasp the situation. It is almost impossible to imagine in the first place such an economic situation as faced the class-conscious workers of Russia in November, 1917, and, secondly, to grasp in one's mind the masses of people with varied temperaments that are none of them Anglo-Saxon.

Work is compulsory in Russia by special decree and Labor can be marshalled, if necessary, for the interest of the community, under military supervision. This appears at first sight rather arbitrary and to understand it one has to bear in mind the fact that Proletarian Russia is fighting for its very existance. Having started on the road

to Communism and being surrounded by enemies, there is, from their viewpoint, no time for inefficient democracy to argue and theorize over ways and means. If a man will not do his part and hunger or social consciousness have no effect upon him, then a bayonet is tried and generally persuades him of the advisability of falling into line. It is not nice and other ways to introduce the desired state were much to be desired, but the conditions and facts being faced to-day in Russia present the unanswerable question of how else can things be kept going.

I must say that all the time I was in Russia I saw no signs of this enforced labor under military supervision, although it was admitted that it was sometimes resorted to. In the clothing factories of Moscow, where they were turning out ten thousand great-coats for the army every day and large quantities of all other garments and underwear, I noted quite a cheerful atmosphere and all hands seemed to be taking a real interest in their work. Strikes are not permitted for it is reasonably argued that such would be an act of treason against all the other workers and the Soviet State. The railroad engineers and other former "aristocrats of Labor" do not like it, but they

find themselves surrounded by circumstances that compel them to join with the other workers in the endeavor to better conditions for all, as only by those means can they better their own position. It is now in Russia a One Big Union to obtain the barest necessities of life and the necessity seems to be quite successfully establishing the idea.

The postal service is working, but most of the old employees have been mobilized for military service and the system is not working satisfactorily. This is scarcely to be wondered at for only the vital services can get the required attention. No stamps are used, the service is free. Letters are delivered and very few lost, but the mails are slow.

The telephone systems in Petrograd and Moscow are working. Service appears to be slow, but not much worse than London.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### WOMEN

Whenever I had an opportunity I questioned both men and women as to what foundation or cause there was for the rumour that was spread all over Europe and America about the nationalization of women. By the way in which some of them

looked at me, I was sure that they regarded my sanity as a doubtful quantity, others laughed outright, nowhere was I able to get track of any excuse for such a report, most of my informants had never even heard of the rumour.

Every ablebodied person in Russia, between the ages of 17 and 50 has to perform some useful labor. Students' studies are regarded as useful labor and women for eight weeks prior to childbirth and for eight weeks after, are exempted. Eight hours per day was the limit originally set, but the wars have made it necessary to extend this in a number of the factories producing war supplies. Some with private resources or by speculating (now illegal and very risky) have been able to dodge this law of work, but the number is growing smaller. Women with more than two children are considered as doing their part if looking after a home. The complaints of some of the previously idle rich are very loud and piercing.

There may be still some female prostitutes in Russia. I have not seen any that I could recognize as such and nobody seemed to know where there were any. This was a very striking contrast to the other eleven capital cities in Europe that I visited.

Women do not have an easy time in Russia just now—nobody has. Large numbers of the peasant type are still at manual labor, as before the war, and the others find plentiful occupation in the hospitals, factories, street cars, schools, stores, offices, maternity homes, children's homes, rest homes, communal kitchens, dining rooms and other similar work.

Marriage is a civil contract. A religious service may be held if the parties desire it, but a religious service alone is not a legal marriage.

A divorce is very easily obtained. The usual squabble about the custody of the children is obviated by the State's guardianship, where the parents cannot agree. Both have access to the children in the public schools.

No expectant mother need worry about the economic provision for her expected child. It will get all the care that any other child gets—that is the best the country can give.

## CHAPTER IX. CHILDREN

Children up to the age of 17 are the wards of the State and where they have no homes, or the parents are unable to look after them,

are kept in special homes. Some are partly clothed and fed at school and others are provided for entirely at home, a special ration being assigned for each child. Food and equipment to carry out the plans made are only forthcoming in part in the most favored provinces, some of the provinces are able to do very little in the matter and there is urgent want among the twelve million children of Russia, but next to the army they get every attention possible. Nowhere in Russia that I visited, have I seen the poorly clad and ill-fed children that I have seen in the streets of the capitals of the countries so anxious to witness the fall of the Soviet regime.

The children's homes that I visited were certainly models of organization and cleanliness. From the minute the child is received in the receiving centers, it is carefully watched to find out what branch of education would be most desirable, considering its natural leanings, and it is placed in the most suitable school. But the food that the little mites have to live upon would cause a riot in a lumber camp of Canada and the plaint of the teachers that they can get no pencils, pens, paper or slates, should cause great satisfaction to the blockading Allies. If hate be the object of the blockad-

ers, they are certainly producing a goodly stock that may some day surprise them.

The branding of the so-called "illegitimate" child is a standing disgrace to our civilization and is not tolerated in Russia. Every child without exception is placed upon an equal footing and gets the best training and education that the country can give.

## CHAPTER X.

### EDUCATION

War and the material necessities of life naturally demand priority of attention, but in spite of the bitter struggle to cope with these questions, education is being pressed and spread with a zeal and energy bordering upon fanaticism. Universities, schools, lecture centres, colleges and travelling instructors are being put into commission all over Russia. In the villages the literates are compelled (if they do not volunteer) to teach the illiterates. In the army it is compulsory to learn to read and write and to attend lectures on Communism. The effects of the army education and of the instructors turned out by the thousands from the Communist training schools can hardly be estimated.

It is not my purpose to deal with the question of education in Russia at all fully for others have dealt with the question and still others will deal with it in the future, but, as illustrating the spirit of Russia to-day in the matters of both war and education, I will give a few details of medical training in the Petrograd District.

Like every other trade and profession the members of the medical profession have been almost entirely absorbed into the national services and like everybody else are suffering many privations, but they are carrying on an almost superhuman work against the greatest handicaps imaginable in the matter of material and supplies.

Dr. A. Mislig, a well-known medical man of New York has been appointed Military Commissar of Medical Universities for the Petrograd District and the Medical Universities of the Petrograd District are very well aware of that fact, for life in them has since assumed a changed aspect.

The militarization of the universities was decided upon under the pressure and demand for doctors for the front and the matter taken in hand in a manner commensurate with the situation. Dr. Mislig was told what was required and was given author-

ity to proceed and to take any steps necessary to attain the needed requirements.

When the doctor took charge there were three medical universities in the district, each with accommodation for two hundred and fifty students and one post graduate university with accommodation for about two hundred. All of them have been extended to accommodate seven hundred and fifty students each for the full course of five years' study. This means that roughly speaking nearly six hundred doctors are being turned out each year from the Petrograd District alone.

The training is in no way below pre-war standards, in fact it is considerably higher, and there are very few failures. There is always a waiting list of students wishing to take the course.

Medical students are exempt from military service and manual labor. In the universities they are subject to military discipline and are required to study intensively. Any students showing lack of adaptation by laziness or inability to learn, are at once drafted to the front to act as orderlies at the casualty clearing stations. Should any break down, they are returned to their usual occupations or homes. Slackness and slovenliness are not tolerated. Medical effi-

ciency means a matter of life and death for others and studies must be pursued accordingly.

Students are fed, clothed and housed by the State, they are also paid an allowance of about 3,000 roubles per month.

This system is now being applied to all the educational centres of Russia and results are reported to be surprisingly good. Many things are lacking, but if the nations of Europe keep Russia on a war footing for a few more years, the consequent discipline and organization will go very far towards making up for the comparatively backward state of Russian industry and agriculture at the time of the Revolution.

The ballet, the theatre, the moving pictures, painting and music under the direction of the Ministries of Education and Art, are all receiving new leases of life with a tangible object. Together with all other available agencies they are being used for the education of Russia and the formation of a really social concept of life.

One of the principal objects of the educational system of Russia is to impress upon the young their duties to society at large. This is a most important point, for it is in sharp contradistinction to the old idealizing of the home and blood relations.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE SABOTNYK SPIRIT

The literal translation of the word Sabotnyk I do not know. It has, however, some connection with the last day of the week which throughout civilization has invariably been looked upon as a day of rest, but the Communists of Russia know no day of rest, for work in appalling quantities presents itself at every turn.

Does it pay to work seven days per week and from ten to fifteen hours per day? Is it conducive to efficiency? Perhaps the spirit in which the work is done has some bearing upon the matter. Maybe a variation of the work is a consideration. I thought that to get an answer to these questions was hardly sufficient reason to worry the executives of Soviet Russia for an interview. Any one of them could have given me some information upon the point although at the time that I was in Moscow I overheard several of them say that they would have to forego the variation of work. This was during the last Polish offensive. The woodpile, the muddy road, the refuse heap, the bush did not see them for weeks.

The Sabotnyk today in Soviet Russia means "holiday work" Saturday afternoons

and Sundays are usually the times devoted to it. It is strongly advocated and encouraged by the Communist Party. In my opinion it should go very far towards redeeming the Communists in the eyes of the idealist Anarchists.

This holiday work is performed quite voluntarily, although among the Communists it is looked upon as an integral part of a Communist's being. It is far from being play although it is undertaken in a picnic spirit. Many an office man and girl stenographer carry reminders of a Saturday afternoon Sabotnyk for the best part of the following week. Idealists? Oh, no! Such a suggestion is indignantly denied. "We are materialists. We work for ourselves."

In Petrograd I was shown a large square known as the Red Place or Field of Mars, with an area equal to that of about ten city blocks. It had been a rough open space, but it had fallen into the clutches of the Sabotnyk and its roughness had become a matter of history. A massive stone monument had been erected in the centre to the memory of those who fell in Petrograd during the November fighting. Trees and stone curbing marked the borders and the whole square was being levelled and prepared for grass. I do not think any record is kept of

the work done or who does it. All the information I could get was that thousands turn out at the appointed times, when there is no matter of more pressing importance demanding the attention of the Sabotnyk, and the rough places become smooth and the crooked places are straightened out. While I was in Petrograd the winter's supply of wood for fuel was the job that was being tackled.

Moscow was also facing the fuel question. Russians seem to have statistics covering almost all phases of social activity, but I have heard of no computation of the amount of extra energy and labor that has had to be applied in Russia in order to keep Russian industries, transportation and domestic requirements powered and heated with green wood for fuel.

The Poles, Denekine, and many other counter-revolutionaries have succeeded in their turn in depriving Soviet Russia of coal and oil. Now that this fraternity have been rolled up by the Bolshevik Armies under Kameneff and Tukhatchevsky it is to be hoped that the Allies will see the futility of backing such forlorn hopes and that Russia will be allowed an opportunity of getting its house into shape. With coal and oil available, even greater strides could be

made than were made in the few months peace—the Spring of this year (1920). One wonders what nation or nations the Allies will succeed in getting to attack the Bolsheviks when they again begin to show the world what the Proletariat can do in the way of restoring the economic life of Russia providing they are allowed to turn their attention from the demands of war to the arts of peace.

My acquaintance with the Sabotnyk was made one Saturday afternoon early in October. There was a cold wind accompanied by a flurry of snow and Moscow was tightening its scanty clothing by means of pieces of string and taking stock of available substitutes. Except for the army and the children, new supplies were not thought of, and the ingenuity of even Russians has been taxed beyond its capacity in the almost hopeless fight against cold, hunger, disease, internal and external enemies. The count of our section (Foreign Office) showed about seventy. This included heads of departments, stenographers, interpreters, messengers and two or three visitors. We gathered in the open space at the rear of the Hotel Metropole (now the headquarters of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs) sized, numbered, formed

fours, turned left and marched singing and whistling through the center of the city for about a mile until we reached a large railroad yard into which we turned. There were large numbers of people on the streets. Out of a population of a little over two million, I was told that somewhere about twenty-five thousand was the average Sabotnyk muster, although on special occasions the attendances were much larger. The proportion appears to be rather small, but it must be borne in mind that large numbers were working overtime and that the scanty food rations compelled a vast number to supplement their supplies by working allotments or working in the surrounding countryside.

I must confess that the sight of that railroad yard caused within me a certain sinking feeling somewhat reminiscent of a sensation I experienced when one of a party advancing to the attack of a snowslide in the Rocky Mountains with shovels. That yard was piled high on all sides with logs running from six to ten feet long and from eight to eighteen inches thick. However, not even a girl stenographer exhibited symptoms of what I felt, so with a front that betokened no sign of the interior feeling I joined in the attack on one end of that

yard with a picture in my mind of a mouse nibbling at a haystack. Our work was to carry those logs back to an open space close by and stack them. We had not been at work more than about five minutes when I heard shouts and looking down the yard saw another party marching in followed shortly by still more until we had seven or eight hundred men, women, boys and girls attacking the log piles. The heaps grew smaller and the stacks grew larger. The yard and the open square was covered with a shouting, whistling, singing crowd that looked like a swarm of ants in the act of moving house. In four hours that yard was clear; another part performed in the job of supplying winter fuel for Moscow. I carried traces of that four hours' work for several days and amended my ideas regarding the physical possibilities of the female of the species, there are some with whom I should not care to quarrel. We received a special bonus of about three-quarters of a pound of bread each and marched back fully conscious that we had done something that would accrue to the good and welfare of the Community of which we were a part.

The community spirit under Communism in Russia is one of the phases of the situa-

tion that interested me most. Here we find the social instinct developing under our eyes into a social concept that is impossible under our own form of society, the changed economic basis is giving free play to the higher social urges. Anything done in the way of improving things visibly benefits the community. There is no unemployment problem and consequently there is no feeling that work done voluntarily will destroy some person's chance of obtaining work or will have a bearish effect upon the Labor power market; property improved does not accrue to the advantage and profit of individuals, it is owned, and the advantages are enjoyed by the community.

It may be rejoined that with me the wish is father to the thought. I do not deny that a better form of society than our scrambling and anarchic form is to me very desirable, but I cannot shut my eyes to the signposts of a psychology I found in course of development in Russia, a psychological development that appears to me to be in the opposite direction to ours. As I write I have in mind a scene that I witnessed on a street car in Petrograd. The car was moving off from a loading point crowded with a mass of workers returning home; a soldier rushed from the sidewalk about fifty

feet from the loading queue and somehow managed to get one foot on the step and hung on, but, unfortunately for him, the woman conductor observed the move and proceeded to deliver him a lecture in a tone that met with the approval of the other passengers and the "Tavarish" dropped off to go and take his turn with the others.

Public approbation and public disapprobation are quickly growing forces in Russian social life today and the individual who commits an unsocial act is very speedily made aware that his or her act is not viewed favorably. This growing state of mind is, in my opinion, one of the factors that contributes to the acquiescence by the masses in the arbitrary decisions of the Extraordinary Commission and the Supreme All-Russian Economic Council for a very large section of the public feels that the measures enforced are to ensure the safety of the People's Revolution and to drastically deal with the unsocial profiteer and counter-revolutionary. Backed by the State and economic conditions the spirit of Sabotnyk is becoming highly infectious. The fears of the Capitalist Governments of Europe appear to me to be well founded, but no Cordon Sanitaire will prevent the spirit from spreading through the masses.

of Europe. This time the community spirit is not founded upon an idealistic concept. It is now in Russia founded upon conditions.

## CHAPTER XII.

### MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION

The story of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, and of the events which led up to it, forms a splendid field for the student of the Materialist Conception of History.

Feudalism in Russia was only abolished about the middle of the Nineteenth Century and was followed by half a century of Capitalistic development under absolute monarchy. The latter terminated in the general strikes and revolution of 1905, which left the Czar on the throne, but forced the granting of the Constituent Assembly. Through bureaucratic interference and innate incompetence the Constituent Assembly proved itself incapable of dealing with a situation that demanded radical and immediate treatment. At the time of the outbreak of the European War, in 1914, conditions were such in Russia that a war was welcomed by the ruling classes as being a necessary outlet for the brewing storm forces and an ex-

cuse for the return to Bureaucratic dictatorship.

The events of the next few years, however, were to prove that the economic position of the masses had been allowed to drift, through general incompetence in high places, beyond the point where even a war could patch up the machinery. In fact, the war, engineered in the same incompetent manner, after easing industrial conditions for a while, proved to be too strong an antidote for the situation and although the operation was successful, the patient—Russian Capitalism—died in November, 1917.

Many generations of slavery and feudalism seem to have made of the Russian masses a docile, slow, but withal a courteous and hospitable people. Absolute monarchy, bureaucratic dictatorship, cruel repression, religion and modern machinery have, together, produced apparently two distinct schools of thought among the Russian masses. On the one hand we have the violent Anarchists and the school of the Revolutionary Communists, bent upon overturning Capitalism and the Bureaucracy by any and every means at the earliest possible moment, and on the other hand we have the ideology of the Mensheviks and the masses of the peasants looking for salvation from

intolerable conditions through peaceful penetration and having a type of mind somewhat akin to that of the early Christians.

The passive acquiescence of the illiterate masses in the Bolshevik explosion of 1917 was a perfectly natural attitude for them to take. The hope of the idealist—Kerensky—had fallen down badly under an economic situation that completely baffled him. Peasants demanded the land—landlords would fight before giving it up; the army demanded proper equipment or peace—grafters and the Allied financiers would have neither; the Proletariat demanded an immediate reduction of the cost of living and better conditions, failing which they threatened more direct action of the 1905 type—printing presses working at top speed on paper money and the demand for commodities for the army made this quite impossible. Then came Korniloff and his monarchist army and a constituent assembly that talked. Kerensky negotiated and then disappeared through a back door. The Proletariat and the Petrograd garrison put Korniloff to flight and then invited the Constituent Assembly to cease talking and go home.

The dictatorship in the name of the Pro-

letariat was inevitable. No other course offered any solution to the situation. When and where human society is brought face to face with a breakdown and general anarchy, the workers assume prime importance. A staggering collapse of credit and confidence brought Russian society face to face with the question of feeding, clothing and housing itself. Bonds, stocks, title deeds and paper money cannot very well be eaten. The masses of Petrograd and the army were faced with the alternatives of taking matters into their own hands or of starving. They chose the former. They could do no other. Hence Bolshevism.

Any Government in Russia taking up the reins in the fall of 1917 and continuing at war, would have had to take most of the measures that the Bolsheviks have taken. Of this we see a very fair illustration in Aesthonia and Latvia. The Agrarian laws, enforced by the Bolsheviks, had already been placed upon the Statute Books of Russia by the Constituent Assembly and formed part of the platform of the Mensheviks. There was no compensation for the landlords provided, and if land was to be confiscated in the public interest it would hardly have been logical to advocate private ownership or compensation in industry.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### COMMUNIST POLICY

The Communist Party of Russia, with its "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" policy, is the object of severe criticism by numbers of writers on the subject of Soviet Russia. One cannot well dismiss the criticism as being all the products of minds anti-Socialistic. Even if this were the case, some of them deserve consideration if only for the sake of giving the masses of the workers as correct a conception as possible of the road taken by the Proletariat of Russia and the historical causes of their actions.

In Russia one continually hears Communists stating that they have made many mistakes and that the workers of other countries can profit—if they will—by their experiences. If we admit that things done through lack of experience, lack of knowledge or lack of suitable material can be termed "mistakes," then we can consider them as such. Personally I like not the word. The workers of Russia are paying the price exacted from the pioneer. The debt already owing to them by the world Proletariat, who cannot help profiting by their efforts and experiences, never will be paid.

It was never my intention to seek to "justify" the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 —like all other phenomena it had its causes. My special object in going to Russia was to get firsthand information regarding the reports and despatches given out for public consumption purporting to give accurate news of "Bolshevism" and of the activities of the Russian Proletarian administration. This was the phase of the matter that concerned us in Winnipeg, for the common prejudice against "Bolshevism" as disseminated by these reports and despatches, was used to send the defendants to jail.

In November, 1917, the Russian people were face to face with military defeat and industrial and financial collapse which meant anarchy. While the Constituent Assembly talked, the Russian armies were in disordered flight, the Germans were advancing and the Korniloff monarchists threatening a return of Czarism. It seems very apparent that the necessities of the times demanded a dictatorship to restore any kind of order. Three forms of this were in sight—Czarist, military or Proletarian. The Communist Party, about 40,000 in number, and the rank and file of the army, determined upon the last named. As I have not yet happened upon a satisfactory

definition of "justice" I prefer not to give any opinion as to their justification. It is quite evident that the Communists and their supporters had very little doubt about the matter.

The transfer of the Government to the Soviets of the workers, soldiers and peasants can be easily criticized. So also can be government by monarchy, plutocracy, or so-called democracy.

In and out of Russia one hears accusations against the Communists of exercising undue influence to retain control of the Soviets. There may be some truth in this. I had no means of verifying or disproving these statements. When one thinks of what a return of the old forms of government would undoubtedly mean for the Communists, also of the sacrifices that have been made to inaugurate the new form of society, it is not hard to realize the enormous issue at stake. It may be that, with their Communism and their lives at stake, there have been instances of this kind. Perhaps their making two Proletarian votes equal to five peasant votes would be admitted as evidence against them. Anyhow, I am satisfied that, even if true, it has not been done for the purpose of enriching the pockets of a gang of political grafters.

The Communist Party is now reported to have about 800,000 members. The motives of a large number in joining are being questioned, as it is freely admitted that some join in the hope of getting positions and economic advantages. There is a proposal on foot to disband the party and reform with a more strict qualification for membership.

There is a very strict discipline within the party and members have to take the lead at the various fronts and in all hard and dangerous work. As far as I could find out this regulation was being carried out quite effectually.

Any member of the Communist Party caught grafting has a very short trial before the Extraordinary Commission (Crez-vechana Komessea). The sentence is almost always death by being shot. The Communist is expected to show an example of social consciousness and any slip or remissness on his or her part is very severely dealt with.

The question of Socialism or Communism combined with a state of war is not one that has received very much theoretical attention. Having put their hands to the plough the Communist Party of Russia found itself in a position where it dared not look back. There is no doubt that some of the leaders

expected the Proletariat of Europe to follow them—especially Germany. When the working classes of Europe and America allowed their Governments to attack and blockade Russia the feelings of the workers there can easily be imagined. One of the most painful and pathetic features of my visit was the continual enquiry as to when the workers of the outside world were going to stop the blockade and send help.

The great difficulty experienced by the average investigator in Russia is, in my opinion, owing to a want of comprehension of what the materialist philosophy of the Marxian school means in a revolution. Visitors like Mrs. Snowden want them to conduct the revolution along "ethical" lines; what ethical standard is not stated, neither do they inform us as to who shall bid the Sun and Moon to stand still while their special concept of justice is being meted out. The Communist Party of Russia is guilty of calling a spade a spade and there is no hypocritical veneer over their actions. Innocent victims there have no doubt been, but an earthquake or shipwreck claims many such. A death roll of about ten thousand—half the number executed without trial by the white guards in Finland—marvellously small in comparison to any other revolu-

tion in history when we consider the huge territory and population involved and the unprecedented social and economic changes.

Communists affect no religion but I find a strange number of Christian admonitions being actually put into effect in Russia—sometimes under the persuasion of a bayonet or threat of starvation. But there they are and I find no such practical applications of their ethical teachings in "Christian" countries.

Three years have now passed since this comparative handful of Communists persuaded the Proletariat, soldiers and peasants to establish the Soviet system of administration and eliminate profits. Fighting on several fronts, combating internal counter-revolution and sabotage, establishing a new social and economic order, facing disease, starvation and blockade all the time! It may be fanatical. If so it appears to be the biggest and best managed thing in that line ever staged.

It is often said that the present situation in Russia is nothing but a military despotism. I deny that. Such a movement necessitates the co-operation and sacrifice of hundreds of thousands with an ideology social, not individualistic. It is a dictatorship enforced through the State, largely by

force of arms, but it is a dictatorship that insists upon educating, thereby insisting upon preparing its own funeral.

A "popular" and "democratic" administration in Russia today would mean an administration by the small peasant for the small peasants. On small peasant psychology my readers may speculate, my space is already filled. Undoubtedly Russia, under such an administration, would form a very desirable field for colonial and Capitalist exploitation.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY.

"It is the Proletariat which must establish real order, the order of Communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom." (From Programme, Third International — Moscow.)

The Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill, British Secretary for War, in a recent article in the London Evening News, appealing to Germany to form a bulwark against Soviet Russia, refers to the Bolsheviks

viks as a "flood of red barbarism flowing from the East." Mrs. Sheridan, his cousin, after visiting Moscow to procure busts of some of the well-known Bolsheviks, in a contribution to the "London Times," says she would like to go back to Russia, and take a part in the gigantic effort there, rather than live in luxury among the purposeless. The artist and sculptress appears not to have quite the same point of view as her cousin the War Minister.

Communist theory and philosophy are those of Marxian Socialism. All Marxian Socialists, however, do not agree as to the methods of putting the doctrine into practice. The Marxians disclaim any connection with idealism and base their propaganda upon a materialistic concept of society. This however does not seem to prevent them from trying to impress upon the outsider that doing away with profits and the consequent elimination of world market competition would do away with the incentive for wars, and that a world economy based upon production for use would usher in the long sought for brotherhood of man. This brotherhood, incidental to the Marxian Socialist Creed, is put forward quite plainly in the Manifesto of the Third (Moscow) International, quoted above.

Should we, for the sake of getting along, term this phase of the matter a "materialist ideal" we are immediately faced with the picture of the idealistic and Christian "brotherhood of man" being put into practice at the point of the bayonet. This enforcement of an ideal—should we take this view of the matter—reminds one quite plainly of the Fathers of the Inquisition. In justice to the Bolsheviks it must be again clearly stated that they do not seek to attribute their methods to ideals. It is no part of my work to discuss the merits or demerits of instituting economic ideals via the Inquisition. The Bolshevik gives his materialist explanation of his actions by pointing to a revolutionary Proletariat produced by economic necessity.

Bolsheviks are not disciples of Tolstoy, idealists, anarchists or primitive Christian Communists. They are Marxian Materialists with the definite concept of the masses of human society as propertyless workers impelled by economic necessity to take certain steps, which to them will inevitably lead to the objective of the idealist school —The economic freedom of the masses and the brotherhood of man. They deny inspiration from any idealistic motive. They

allow no idealistic scruples to stand in their way.

Will they be able to prove to the peasants of Russia the economic advantages of Communism and thus change their individualistic philosophy to that of the Socialist? Will a Proletarian dictatorship be able to accomplish something that Capitalism has apparently not yet done? If the Communists were idealists I should answer "No" to both questions.

## CONCLUSION

Ever since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the majority of the Socialist and Labor papers published have been trying to procure and publish news of events there. The ordinary daily press has been notoriously erratic on the subject and lying and garbled reports have predominated.

This state of affairs was seized upon by counsel for the Crown in the Winnipeg trials of the alleged strike leaders who were accused of conspiring to form a Soviet Government in the City of Winnipeg. Labor and Socialist papers carrying Russian news were used in large numbers as evidence. Ordinary Socialist propaganda, Industrial Union propaganda and popular prejudices

against "Bolshevism" were skilfully woven together and thrown in front of the juries as complete evidence of a Bolshevik Conspiracy.

I never could see in the Winnipeg General Strike an overt act in a Bolshevik Conspiracy or any evidence of any such conspiracy.

An examination of the evidence in detail is beyond my present sphere. If I have contributed in any small way to disclose to the general public the true position of affairs in Russia, in contradistinction to the picture conjured up by the insinuations and innuendos of the Chief Counsel for the Crown in his addresses to the two juries, I am then satisfied that my time and effort have been well spent.

There is no real necessity to justify, or even to explain "Bolshevism," as it had no connection with the Winnipeg cases. Having been used to condemn the defendants it is most interesting to find that the picture portrayed a lying and absolutely groundless presentment.

It may interest some to know that I could find no justification whatever for the reports that the Bolshevik Movement was a Jewish promotion or a result of German propaganda and I have met no travellers with a knowledge of Russia who upheld any

such ideas. Bolshevism and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia were the natural result of conditions in Russia.

(End)